

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-11 IO-14

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

DRC-01 /153 W

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P R 181920Z JUL 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0330

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0099

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0179

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR

PERIOD JULY 6-12, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES
CONTINUED TO DRAG THEIR FEET, AND THERE WAS LITTLE FORWARD
MOVEMENT DURING LAST WEEK'S NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA.
DURING THE INFORMAL SESSION ON JULY 10, THE WESTERN
ALLIES INTRODUCED THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA. THE
IMMEDIATE EASTERN REACTION WAS DEFENSIVE AND NEGATIVE.
IN RESPONSE TO THE WESTERN COMPARISON OF THE TWO SIDES'
POSITION ON THE "WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED

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FROM THE OUTSET" ISSUE, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV MAINTAINED

THAT DURING THE INFORMAL MEETINGS THE EASTERN SIDE HAD NOT MADE FORMAL OR OFFICIAL PROPOSALS, BUT HAD ONLY ENGAGED IN AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND SUGGESTIONS. DURING THE PLENARY SESSION ON JULY 11, EAST GERMAN REP OESER IN GENERAL REITERATED THE STANDARD EASTERN POSITION. HE ALSO SOUGHT TO JUSTIFY INCLUDING ALLIED AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES IN A REDUCTION PLAN BY POINTING TO THE "MULTIPLE UTILIZATION OF (ALLIED) WEAPONS SYSTEM", AND SINGLED OUT BY NAME THE NIKE-HERCULES AS AN EXAMPLE OF SUCH A SYSTEM. DURING A BILATERAL MEETING WITH THE US REP AND DEPREP ON JULY 11, THE SOVIET REP AND DEP REP TOOK AN UNYIELDING APPROACH TO THE ENTIRE ALLIED POSITION, EMPHASIZING THAT ALL WESTERN PARTICIPANTS MUST REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET AND STRONGLY REJECTING THE CONCEPT OF ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE JULY 10 INFORMAL MEETING. SOVIET REP KHLESTOV BEGAN THE SESSION ON JULY 10 BY SUMMING UP IN STANDARD FASHION THE EASTERN POSITION THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS MUST REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET, THAT ALL FORCES ON BOTH SIDES MUST BE INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS, AND THAT THE WESTERN APPROACH IS INEQUITABLE. KHLESTOV SAID THAT THE EASTERN APPROACH WAS CLEAR AND SPECIFIC AND LEFT ONLY ONE QUESTION OPEN, THAT OF WHAT FURTHER REDUCTION STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN AFTER THE PROGRAM PROPOSED BY THE EAST HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT. (IN MAKING THE LATTER STATEMENT, KHLESTOV MAY HAVE BEEN REFERRING TO THE POINT, RECENTLY MADE BY BULGARIAN REP DICHEV, THAT IF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS SUCCEED, THEY SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY SIMILAR TALKS COVERING THE BALKANS.) KHLESTOV'S PRESENTATION WAS NOTEWORTHY ONLY IN THAT HE MADE NO MENTION OF THE EAST'S MODIFIED SYMBOLIC, OR INITIAL STEP, REDUCTION PROPOSAL.

3. NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES, SPEAKING FOR THE ALLIES, FIRST PRESENTED A COMPARISON OF THE POSITIONS OF THE EAST AND THE WEST ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. HE THEN INTRODUCED THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA, STATING THAT THE ALLIES COULD CONSIDER A COMMITMENT BY THE NON-US

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WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO TAKE PART IN SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS OF GROUND FORCES THAT WOULD LEAD TO A COMMON CEILING. QUARLES STATED THAT THE ALLIES COULD UNDERTAKE SUCH A COMMITMENT ONLY IN THE EVENT OF A SATISFACTORY FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT, AND THAT THE ONLY EXCEPTION IS THE FORCES OF LUXEMBOURG, WHICH WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN REDUCTIONS.

4. AFTER THE EASTERN REPS CAUCUSED, KHLESTOV REPLIED TO THE REMARKS OF THE NETHERLANDS REP. HE CONCENTRATED FIRST ON MAKING CLEAR THAT HE DID NOT ACCEPT THE COMPARISON OF EASTERN AND WESTERN POSITIONS AS PRESENTED BY QUARLES. SPEAKING IN A RATHER DEFENSIVE MANNER, KHLESTOV MADE TWO GENERAL POINTS: (A) HE SAID THAT IN THE INFORMAL MEETING, THE PARTICIPANTS WERE ONLY SEEKING TO HAVE AN INFORMAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, AND THE EAST HAD MADE NO FORMAL OR OFFICIAL PROPOSALS. (B) KHLESTOV SAID THAT EASTERN REMARKS ON POSSIBLE VARIANTS

TO THE SOLUTION OF THE "WHOSE FORCES FROM THE OUTSET" ISSUE HAD BEEN MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF DEALING WITH A POSSIBLE FIRST REDUCTION STEP. THIS WAS PROBABLY A REFERENCE TO KHLESTOV'S EARLIER REMARKS, MADE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS IN PREVIOUS INFORMALS, THAT THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET COULD BE DIFFERENT, DEPENDING ON WHETHER IT WERE MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EAST'S PROPOSED FIRST REDUCTION STEP OR IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OVERALL PROPOSALS OF EAST OR WEST.

5. IN COMMENTING ON THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA AS INTRODUCED BY THE NETHERLANDS REP, KHLESTOV MADE TWO POINTS: (A) THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA IS NOT A VERY SIGNIFICANT MOVE, FOR IT DOES NOT CHANGE THE ORIGINAL WESTERN PLAN AND IS FORWARDED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PLAN; AND (B) THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA IMPLIES THAT THE US, AS WELL AS LUXEMBOURG, WOULD NOT REDUCE IN A SECOND PHASE. KHLESTOV'S RATHER NEGATIVE REACTION WAS REGARDED BY THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS AS AN ATTEMPT TO BUY TIME.

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6. THE PLENARY MEETING. ONLY GDR REP OESER SPOKE AT THE JULY 11 PLENARY SESSION. OESER REPEATED THE STANDARD EASTERN ARGUMENTS FOR THE PACT'S PLAN AND CRITICISMS AGAINST THE WESTERN PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, HE WAS SOMEWHAT MORE SPECIFIC ON SOME POINTS THAT EASTERN REPS HAVE BEEN IN THE PAST. IN SEEKING TO JUSTIFY REDUCTIONS OF ALLIED AIR AND NUCLEAR UNITS, FOR EXAMPLE, HE POINTED TO THE "MULTIPLE UTILIZATION" OF SEVERAL WEAPONS IN THE NATO ARSENAL. IN PARTICULAR, HE POINTED TO THE NIKE-HERCULES SYSTEM WHICH CAN "BE USED IN GROUND-TO-GROUND COMBAT AND WHICH IN ADDITION IS A CARRIER FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS." (OESER MAY HAVE MENTIONED THIS PARTICULAR WEAPON SYSTEM BY NAME BECAUSE THE WEST GERMANS HAVE IT.)

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0179

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

7. BILATERAL MEETING. IN A BILATERAL MEETING WITH THE US REP AND DEP REP ON JULY 11, KHLESTOV AND SOVIET DEP REP SMIRNOVSKY ONLY VERY GRUDGINGLY ADMITTED THAT THE WEST HAD OFFERED ANYTHING SUBSTANTIAL IN INTRODUCING THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS/ FORMULA. THEY LAID HEAVY STRESS ON THE ALLIES STATING THAT THEY WOULD ONLY "CONSIDER" A COMMITMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS. IN GENERAL, THE SOVIET REPS MADE THE STANDARD ARGUMENTS THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS SHOULD REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET, AND STRONGLY REJECTED THE CONCEPT OF ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS. KHLESTOV ALSO ARGUED VERY STRONGLY THAT, IN VIEW OF THE MOBILIZATION CAPABILITY OF THE FRG, A REDUCTION BY THE BUNDESWEHR WOULD HAVE NO MORE MILITARY
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SIGNIFICANCE THAN A WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET UNITS. KHLESTOV STATED THAT THE FRG COULD MOBILIZE AND HAVE FORCES IN POSITION QUICKER THAN THE SOVIETS COULD MOVE INTO THE FORWARD AREA FROM THE USSR. THE SOVIET REPS ALSO AGAIN CRITICIZED THE ALLIED DATA AS BEING INCORRECT, POINTING OUT THAT THE WEST INCLUDES INDIGENOUS AIR DEFENSE FORCES ON THE PACT SIDE AS BEING IN GROUND FORCES BUT DOES NOT INCLUDE SIMILAR NATO UNITS IN THE NATO GROUND FORCES TOTAL. THE SOVIET REPS ALSO AGAIN CLAIMED THAT THEY WOULD ADDRESS THE DATA ISSUE AT THE PROPER TIME.

8. ROMANIAN REP ANINIYOU TOLD GREEK REP DOUNTAS ON JULY 11 THAT HE IS CONVINCED THAT THE EAST WILL NEVER ACCEPT THE ALLIED CONCEPT OF DISPARITIES AND WILL INSIST ON EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS. ANINIYOU ALSO COMPLAINED ABOUT THE DIMINISHING FREQUENCY OF WESTERN BRIEFINGS TO HIM REGARDING THE INFORMAL SESSIONS. (THE AD HOC GROUP LATER NOTED THAT THE ROMANIANS CONTINUE TO RECEIVE BRIEFINGS FROM THE EAST, AND AGREED THAT THE ALLIED REPS SHOULD CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE ROMANIANS ONLY FACTUAL REPORTS.)

9. COMMENT. THE EASTERN SIDE HAS BEEN IN A "HOLD PATTERN" FOR THE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS, AND PRESUMABLY WILL OFFER NO FURTHER SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS UNTIL AFTER THE NEGOTIATIONS RESUME IN SEPTEMBER. RESOR

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